

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

MAY DAY HOPES AND FEARS

THIS week-end the annual London May Day procession and demonstration has the support of the London Trades Council but not the London Labour Party, for the presence of Communist speakers on the platforms of this traditional workers' celebration provides a barrier to Labour Party participation.

Inevitably this fact will be vigorously employed as evidence of Labour Party responsibility for political disunity, and appropriate epithets will not be in "short supply." Moreover, both Bevin and Cripps will receive particular criticisms of their respec-

COMMENTARY

by Reginald Sorensen, MP

tive foreign and financial policies, while encouraging laudations will be poured on the score or so of Labour MPs who boldly defend their signatures to the Nenni telegram.

Perhaps we can be grateful to those signatories for indirectly stimulating greater knowledge of Italian politics and their inherent European significance. Publicity given to this incident has acquainted more ordinary citizens (and apparently some MPs!) with the difference between two of the Italian Socialist parties, one pro- and the other anti-Communist. To that extent the MP for Finsbury has rendered an educational service that may be evaluated by the Labour Party executive as off-setting its displeasure at the disconcerting telegram!

While there are those who profess scornful surprise at either the ignorance of some MPs respecting foreign affairs or their lamentable irresponsibility, we need to appreciate how powerfully historic British insularity (though often more nominal than real) has affected Labour supporters. Although, of course, the impact of two world wars has greatly modified this, nevertheless there remains the momentum of past detachment and the tendency is to become more absorbed in domestic social and economic issues than in foreign affairs.

Nothing like leather

IT is also true to a greater or lesser degree that the common man everywhere is apt to become more concerned with the impact of his immediate problems. Hence, too, even British MPs and other public representatives who necessarily specialise in public health services, the coal industry, education or agriculture, may suffer the danger of all specialists and

LEAH MANNING, M.P.

calls for a new peace offensive

Ten Million Peace Petitioners—Meetings in Every Town—A Women's Peace Train

"The Great Powers should speak to one another as man to man. No one knows what Russia's position is. Russia says she is just as much in the dark about the position of the Western nations. The Western nations say they have to defend themselves against Communism.

"World statesmen have to clear up this misunderstanding, so that we can be clear where we stand. If assurances must be given to Russia, let us give them, and if Russia is required to give assurances, let her give them... Clarity has to be achieved."

—General Smuts speaking in Cape Town on March 19, 1948.

SO murky has the political climate become in this country and in the USA that anyone making such a statement here, would at once be accused of special pleading on behalf of Russia.

But no-one, not even Herbert Morrison would accuse General Smuts of being a "fellow traveller," so the vast international background, the ripe wisdom, the generous impulse and sound commonsense which are combined in this superb summing-up of the international situation can be legitimately used by those who believe that it is not too late, even though it may be the eleventh hour, for effecting a reconciliation of the views of the three great powers so lately allies, and for building a firm basis for future world peace.

Who should move first?

Who should take the first step? Who should initiate the Conference

have little time, for instance, to follow the complex evolution and manoeuvrings of foreign affairs. Similarly, some parsons, as religious specialists, consider there is more moral and spiritual content in the political and military activities of the Book of Kings and Chronicles, and even the Song of Solomon, than in the living movements of today.

Nevertheless, there are profound spiritual issues within socialist divergences, and evasion of this is shattered by the fierce persistence of Russian missionaries of Marxist philosophy. They have made it as clear as Marx's beard that they will suffer no adulteration of theory, whatever they may countenance as an expedient in practice. Vehement attacks on the Labour Party and social democracy indicate their repudiation of prospects of reconciliation.

The individual

THE essential issue of the modern political drama turns less on the philosophical validity or otherwise of dialectical materialism than on the immediate assessment of the individual soul. To what extent should the individual, with all his capacity for egotism, confusion, indulgence and stupidity, be recognised as possessing inherent rights of personal judgment and action? Dialectical materialism joins with some non-materialist philosophies in supplying a predominantly negative answer.

Catholic Spain gives hardly more scope for religious liberty than it does for political, and it is to be hoped that the recently victorious Christian Democrats in Italy will not in time tread the same pathway to feudalistic arrogance.

Meanwhile, the Italian people by a substantial majority have jumped away from the Communist frying-pan, and the alternative fire is not at the moment democratically unbearable. Fortunately, as in Eire, there are

where leading statesmen stand face to face and clear their minds of fears and misunderstandings?

Two difficulties stand in the way. First an obdurate national pride which somehow mistakes moral strength and dignity for weakness; and second the fear of seeming to appease. So deeply have our experiences with Hitler Germany bitten into the world's consciousness, that they have succeeded in forming a paralysing neurosis.

But we are in the fortunate position today of possessing hindsight. We can look back over the years and see that the Frankenstein of Hitler Germany was the creation of the victorious allies who had not learned the fundamental truth of history: that if there is conquest there must also be pacification.

Like an echo from a dim past age come the words "Access to raw materials"; "room to expand." When did we ever help our prostrate "have-not" neighbour to come by these things?

We succeeded in keeping her bottled up, because of our fears; France's fears; the world's fears, never realising—or at least never acknowledging—that we were exacerbating Germany's sickness.

National Socialism was Germany's answer. We had passed the eleventh hour.

1918 and 1945

In many respects the parallel between post-1918 and post-1945 is almost complete. In other ways it is far more difficult.

After the first World War, the defeated countries were physically collapsed but not morally disintegrated as they are today. At least Germany had the Weimar Republic—today we have failed to rebuild in her heart any belief in democratic institutions.

After 1918, the Allies preserved at least a facade of unity. The USA it is true, withdrew into her shell bewildered and dismayed at the cynicism with which the Allies regarded President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Today there is no unity between the Allies. On the contrary, English generals are already referring to our "Eastern enemies"; war hysteria is everywhere being whipped to fever heat; weapons of the most devastating character are being prepared—not to look at, but to use before Russia herself has the know-how.

Mobilising for peace

Cominform is Russia's answer to the secret of the atom bomb—the

P.P.U. CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM MILITARY ALLIANCES

The following emergency resolution was passed at the Eleventh Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union on Sunday, April 25.

THIS Annual General Meeting regrets that the British Government has taken the initiative in forming a new system of military alliances and guarantees with France and the Benelux countries; reaffirms its belief that the way of peace involves withdrawal from all commitments to prepare or wage war—which in modern conditions can no longer be of predominantly defensive character; and calls upon the British people to concentrate all their skill and resources on building a peaceful and just society that can command the unforced loyalty of an overwhelming majority, defend itself if necessary by non-violent non-co-operation, and set an example to the nations now actively preparing for a third conflict.

This, and not the preparation for atomic warfare which the Anglican Church has recently attempted to justify in the name of Christ, is the way of peace.

cold war opposes the lethal war. But it is not yet too late.

There exists in the world today a greater peace potential than ever before. It only needs mobilising and telling what to do; it wants action, it wants to break the mood of inevitability and make its voice, the voice of the people, heard by the Governments.

This week, a letter accompanied by a copy of a Parliamentary petition embodying General Smuts's idea, will reach every Peace Society in this country. The Peace Societies are asked to make this a Peace Year.

Is it too much to expect 10,000,000 signatures to this petition? Too much to ask for a concentration of Peace Meetings in every town in our land, during August—Peace month? Too much to ask every interested organisation to delegate and support one woman for a Peace Train?

It should not be too much to ask, for it is not yet too late.

Roosevelt's warning

This country lately erected a memorial to the man who first uttered these pregnant words: "We have nothing to fear, but fear itself." We have set it in a fair place and surrounded it with flowers—a place where children may play; where busy workers may come for a moment's quiet reflection; where old people may sit peacefully in the sun.

Franklin D. Roosevelt would have wished no greater memorial to his life and work than that we should cast out fear; that the place where he looks benignly down on the little children, the workers and the old people, should ever remain a garden of peace, set in a peaceful England, in a world which has renounced the instruments of war.

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PEACE NEWS

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WHICH WAY?

WHAT is the cold war being fought for? Oddly enough, for peace. The peace-terms of the two chief belligerents have been known for a long time now. The Soviet terms are the adoption by all countries of a Communist régime; the American are the submission of all countries to a supra-national atomic authority. Since neither is having its way, must we resign ourselves to the prospect of indefinite diplomatic offensive and counter-offensive, with the possibility of an explosion for ever before our minds.

That even this would be preferable to a hot war we have to admit. As long as war is honourably averted (that is, without the sacrifice of principle involved in "appeasement"), there is some hope of averting it altogether. The Communist régime in Russia may undergo a gradual change; its militant Marxism may become, like the Christianity of the Western Powers, more ornamental than real; the suppressed humanity of the Russian people may rise to the surface. That it is there, admits of no doubt. The Politbureau would not have abolished the death-penalty had this not been a popular move; and it would not have been popular, had the deep-rooted, traditional Russian horror of capital punishment (to which Tolstoy often drew attention) not persisted in face of all Marxist insistence on the insignificance of the individual.

But we cannot resign ourselves to so uncertain and fearful a prospect without a sinking of heart. As a trusted pacifist commentator in Europe points out, "Resistance is more likely to bring peace than no resistance, or a fumbling, improvised resistance. . . . On the other hand, those who put their faith in military resistance cannot stop half-way; they must virtually militarise Europe and America to achieve by this emphasis even a relative security."

The need for a new-level approach to the ending of the cold war is manifest and urgent. But what approach is realistic? We can rule out a Big Three meeting. Pacifists, at any rate, know that peace cannot be had as easily as that. What about the Crusade for World Government?

We have argued before that this is a *pis-aller*, when the Government of one-sixth of the world repudiates Federation absolutely, on logical, Marxist grounds. An interesting confirmation of our verdict comes in the shape of a correspondence, published in the current Atomic Scientists' News, between Albert Einstein, on the one hand, and four Soviet scientists on the other.

To Einstein's plea for World Government, these scientists reply, that as long as American capitalism exists, a truly representative World Assembly is unthinkable. The delegates from countries outside the Soviet orbit would be, like their own Parliamentary delegates, subservient to monopoly-capitalism; the majority-verdict of such an Assembly would inevitably be hostile to the "true," the Soviet, democracy. Despite the clock-work Communist vocabulary in which their letter is couched, there is no reason to doubt their sincerity. They will not admit Einstein's claim, that world-peace is more important than "freedom," as they understand it. And who is to blame them? If we ourselves did not believe the same, we should accept the Russian peace-terms.

Only one alternative remains: unilateral disarmament by the Western Powers. Let Europe and America disarm, and one of two consequences must follow. Either they will be overrun by the Soviet forces—in which case world government will be a reality, and our job will be to spiritualise it, in the same way, and by the same means, as the Church spiritualised the Roman Empire; or Russia will disarm herself—in which case peace will be a reality, as it is between the Scandinavian States, although they own no common sovereignty.

THE CHURCHES

and the

ATOM-BOMB

II. The Christian Approach

I HAVE in last week's article summarised the issue of the Churches and the Atom-Bomb in the form in which it appeared to the British Council of Churches' Commission,* and in which it has since been debated by the various Church Assemblies. The Church of Scotland's pronouncements on the subject show to what a slough of confusion that approach leads. It leads there, I suggest, because the question has been raised in what is, from the Christian point of view, a wrong form.

The question which the Scottish General Assembly, for example, asked itself was: What advice should the Church give to the State in the present situation?

Now the State, whilst it may, theologically speaking, be a divine ordinance, is in concrete terms a body of forty-five million people, some 90-95 per cent. of whom are not professing Christians and have no Church connections or adequate Christian belief. The community is, of course, permeated through and through with the indirect effects of Christianity; but this camouflages rather than alters the basic fact that Britain is today a predominantly non-Christian country. And as such it necessarily conducts its relationships with other countries on the level of "common sense realism" and not of the Christian ethic.

First task

Looking at the situation in this light, could the Church rightly recommend the State to renounce all use of atomic weapons? Obviously it could not. Before the Church can ask the nation to take the way of the cross it must first convert it to know the power and wisdom of that way.

To give detailed advice to the State in terms of an ethic which the State does not profess to accept is, then, not the business of the Church.

But to give advice to Christian people on the basis of an ethic which they do profess to accept is the business of the Church. And it is this that the various Assemblies have so signally failed to do. In trying to do what they ought not to have done, they have left undone that which they ought to have done.

For whilst the Church has no special right to advise or legislate for the non-Christian, it has a duty to advise and lead the Christian. It has a duty to decide, not whether the State can acquiesce in atomic war-

* In May, 1946, the British Council of Churches issued their report: "The Era of Atomic Power." As a consequence of this report the Assembly of the Church of England called for a Commission to examine it. Their findings have this month been published under the title of "The Church and the Atom."

Sex function and war

IF Mr. John Vincent's article "The Creator's Mistake" is a clue to his book "Inside the Asylum," that should be revealing and worth reading.

The article—read and re-read—comes from an enlightened mind and is like mountain air. I would like to comment on the striking passage:

" . . . Indeed when psychology becomes a more exact science, it may be revealed that sexual dissatisfaction is one of the causes as well as one of the accompaniments of war."

Wilhelm Reich in his deeply stirring book "The Function of the Orgasm" elaborates Mr. Vincent's impressive statement and attributes the world political events to the fact that man is the only biological species which has destroyed its own natural sex function. The latent hatred found in the world is a denial of the gratification of the sexual need—the prevalent inhibition of natural love life.

Dr. Reich's book is a masterpiece of sincere and uncorrupt writing. If several copies could be placed on the shelf of the sixth form in every school and the matter thoroughly read and taught we might turn out fewer

THE AGM

I WAS very grateful for the way in which those present at the AGM listened to my presentation of the Budget, and for the appreciation they showed of my appeal. For several it took the practical form of a generous response to the collection towards the cost of the meeting, which realised about £23. This, however, is considerably less than half the actual cost. I think we all felt that it was a good AGM and were encouraged to go forward with renewed hope and faith in our cause. If you had been present I feel sure you would have given me something towards our funds. You were invited to apply for a ticket and we are sorry that you were not with us. But it was YOUR AGM, and I am sure you would not want us to abandon it. Will you help us see that it does not become a charge on our general funds by sending me during this week something towards the cost.

MAUD ROWNTREE, Treasurer.
Contributions to Headquarters Fund since April 16: £10 2s. 6d. Total for 1948 £55 6s. 4d.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St. W.C.1.

wipe out whole populations mean treating men and women as things indeed as worse than mere things, harmful and unwanted things. We have to face the fact that if the life of Christian obedience can include, for example, the relationship between the airmen who dropped the two atomic bombs on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and those below whom they dropped them, then it can include anything in the way of evil deliberately wrought by man upon man.

Point of refusal

If, then, the Christian must be prepared to refuse at some point to continue with the nation, when locked in deadly combat with other nations in its inevitable moral descent into lovelessness and the demonic, then it seems impossible to doubt that we reach that limiting case in atomic and bacterial bombardment. At any rate it is in the searching light of this Christian criterion, and not in the much more ambiguous light of the political necessities of the non-Christian world, that the Church must judge atomic warfare. The Christian conscience must be allowed to function in Christian terms.

Such an approach would, of course, have far-reaching political consequences. The most important consequence would be the unpredictable one of bringing a new and most powerful moral factor into the situation. If the Church acted in faith as the Body of Christ, it would become a living truth (and not an unreal platitude), that God is actively at work in His world today, transforming it by the principle of the cross.

The word, then, which one would wish our Christian Assemblies to remember next month, as they look towards the great world conference of the Church later in the year, is the word of the last such world Conference: Let the Church be the Church!

SINCERE AND COMPETENT. By error five words were deleted from the last paragraph of John Hick's article last week. His reference to the Scottish Christian leaders should have read: ". . . they have shown themselves in other matters to be both entirely sincere and outstandingly competent."

lose contact unless we here accept some responsibility. May we urge your readers to keep these friendships live and active, and where possible, practical in their manifestation through the sending of an occasional food or clothing parcel.

GERALD BAILEY,
Director, National Peace Council
144 Southampton Row,
London, W.C.1.

PPU's "Purge" protest

I DO not understand the National Council's protest. It is the duty of the Government to employ only trustworthy persons in positions pertaining to the security of the State. Only the most childish mind could believe, after what has happened in Europe these past 20 years, that a Communist is trustworthy from the point of view of a democratic socialist government. There is no threat to civil liberty in the "purge"—and those who pretend there is are dancing to the Marxist music, without realising, perhaps, what they are doing.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

LETTERS

many very different from the one they left five or more years ago. Much they knew and loved has gone, and adjustments to the new life will be difficult.

* Most of these men are anxious to keep the friendships they made in this country, and some, no doubt, will take their own steps to ensure this. But distance divides and many will

Let's Celebrate!

WHEN life runs a little thin, it is a good thing to have a celebration, and any old event or anniversary is good enough for an excuse. This May Day finds most of us weary of exhortation to work "more for less." We know it is necessary, but how dull and boring is the constant harping on the one thing! I am one of those who tend to be irritated by the first promise of real warm weather (only another month for vests), if all we get is a reminder of how lucky we are to be free to work. What we working men really need for May Day is a new song, a tune that sets one pouring his merriment into the air. What song shall we sing?

On April 18 I heard the cuckoo call. That same night a nightingale sang in the tree opposite. Both were heard by several people, and without any licence whatsoever we agreed that there in that place was heard a real song and a real call. Few things could have been more real.

Now why is it that some folk think being realist is to conclude that atom bombs will rain forthwith and we shall all be obliterated, when by the evidence of my ears I know there are other realities?

Why should an event which can put us in touch with the sun be wasted in grim forebodings about disaster, obliteration, warfare, hunger, work, production, planned economy?

Why stand we in jeopardy every hour when a respite can be won which will revitalise us?

One can only assume that we are

quite dull if the entire world, sun, moon, and stars thrown in, is ones' oyster. And export drives, representation on managerial boards, committees, and the never-ending string of coupons and rationed goods, are very small fry to the man who walks under the stars with the woman of his heart.

Let a man fight for a star if he has to fight for anything, but for God's sake don't think of asking him to either fight for, or defend himself against world domination. To banish war, and hunger and want, and intolerance from the world is a noble ideal, but meanwhile these things have to be endured by the great mass of people. It is nothing less than mischievous to tell a hungry man that his hunger is due to bad management. A hungry man can only respond to two things, a meal, or the strength to endure his hunger. Anything other than these two things is blasphemous.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Racial Problem. Socialist Party of Great Britain. 1s.

As a statement of facts this pamphlet is excellent. False racial theories are exposed; anti-Semitism and Zionism are examined; the extent of race prejudice in the USA, South Africa and the West Indies is set out briefly and clearly. It is, however, more difficult to accept the categorical statement that there is only one fundamental social division in the modern world—that between the capitalist class and the working class to which all other divisions, religious, national, linguistic, racial, etc., are incidental. The conclusion drawn is, of course, that once socialism is established all racial prejudice will automatically disappear. The problem is in fact much more complicated than this; but it can be freely admitted that the capitalist system does exacerbate racial feeling to a dangerous pitch.

A. K. J.

says Joe Watson

We working men don't need to be reminded of the many things we ought to be satisfied with. Satisfaction is a foul thing. We want, and need, to be helped to live like men, so that come wet or fine, we will join in with whoever has a song. In work or want, in joy or sadness, in birth and death, we need to celebrate, and this May Day is a first class excuse to do it.

NEGROES FOLLOW GANDHI

"THE 17,000 Negro railway sleeping car porters in America, traditional symbol of Smiling service, are to start a Gandhi-like campaign of civil disobedience against the army's refusal to abandon segregation of Negro soldiers. Their purpose is to discourage Negroes from joining up, and to bring pressure on the Government to reverse its policy."

—Daily Express, April 24.

WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

"We feel this represents a moment in our history when the salvation of the country may well be found to reside in the strong, clear view held by womenfolk."

—Mr. Churchill, at the Conservative Women's Conference.

"Let us strengthen our organisation by recruiting thousands upon thousands of women, clarify our policy and carry the Liberal Government a decisive step further. We need a clear-cut policy and programme to bring into politics all the intelligent women in the electorate."

—Mr. Philip Fothergill, addressing the Women's Liberal Federation.

THE intentions of these honourable gentlemen are doubtless beyond reproach: their flattery is as sincere as it is misguided. They really do want the women to join their parties and further their political programmes. There is no suspicion of irony in that "strong, clear view" of the intelligent female elec-

torate hacking out its "clear-cut policy and programme."

The Labour Party was a quarter of a century ahead with its appeal to emancipated womanhood but Mrs. Leah Manning's was a lone voice in the parliamentary wilderness to expose the mirage of brown-paper oases in an atomic desert. A cry from the heart, touching indeed, but it wasn't policy.

Meanwhile, in Rome recently, two hundred thousand women demonstrated, shouting, "Down with the atom bomb!" (not, presumably, in the gravitational sense) and "Give us peace!" — but, alas, it is suspected that they were Communist-led. And now we can all go home rejoicing in the victory of the Christian Democrats. (So that the Italian gentleman who cut the throat of his enfranchised wife because she threatened to vote Communist might have saved himself the price of a razor-blade).

A clear-cut political policy is about the last thing that many sane woman, or man, who still has a feeling for humanity, could possibly be committed to. The chasm between the ethics of public and private affairs has never been wider; and never was it more imperative that the gap should be bridged.

* * *

Let the Party Leaders study the excellent "Europe's Children" number of Picture Post last week—excellent, that is, in presentation, but terrible in implication. Two hundred and thirty million hungry children are crying for help: surely the longest and most shameful breadline of the 20th century.

"Will there be food enough to keep her alive?"—says the caption to the photograph of The Girl Whose Past is a War, and Future a Question Mark—"For nearly half the world's children, the answer is No."

Can we still claim to have abolished the death penalty?

It is customary for politicians to put the cart before the horse and then drive off madly in the wrong direction. Before the next stage of our journey into fear, they might ponder the conclusion of the Children's Conference at Lake Success:

"Before we try to teach the children of the world about brotherhood and the rights of man, we must feed, clothe and care for them. It is useless to talk of democracy to a starving child. If, however, he is fed and given clothes and a home, these things will teach him something about brotherhood."

EIRENE.



Cartoon by Mays.

Still to be abolished

ELEVENTH A.G.M. OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Discusses World Government and Unilateral Disarmament

THE AGM was held at the Beaver Hall, close by St. Paul's Cathedral, last Saturday and Sunday. The hall was filled with delegates and individual members from all parts of Britain, and the appearance of several Sponsors of the Union, Laurence Housman, Alex Wood and Vera Brittain, was greeted with a warm ovation.

Welcoming the members, the Chairman, George Davies, stressed the value of occasions like this, when we were able not only to thrash out our problems in open debate, but to learn by personal contact and conversation what multifarious activities were being carried on in all parts of the country by people who never hit the headlines. He cited the example of a pacifist school-teacher, whose determination to make the best of her limited opportunities had led to the creation of a bi-lingual school which was now a model of its kind.

He also congratulated Frank Dawtry on the long and steady work which had culminated in the suspension of the death-penalty by the House of Commons. He had pegged away, year after year, as a Yorkshirer should—"dogged does it"—and now a measure had been voted which went deeper than any passed for a century.

It was not always success with mass-movement that counted in the long run; it was the resolution of individuals to stand apart from the masses when necessary. Indeed, the very genius of the pacifist movement lay in this. It had been exemplified by Dick Sheppard and Lord Ponsonby; it was exemplified today in Parliament by Rhys Davies and Reginald Sorensen.

DEATH PENALTY—NEXT STEPS

AT a later stage in the Meeting, Frank Dawtry himself was invited to say something about the vote on the death-penalty. He pointed out that what had made this vote as important as any for years was the fact that it represented an assertion of conscience by the ordinary Member of Parliament in defiance of the Party caucus. He suggested that we should write and congratulate our MPs on the stand they had taken: for the battle was not won yet. Preparations were being made to contest the vote in the House of Lords. The next four or five weeks would be more critical for this struggle than the whole of the last twenty years.

Saturday's sessions of the AGM were devoted to the domestic affairs of the Union.* Issues of policy did not arise until the Sunday morning, when it had been decided to hold a discussion on World Government. Wing-Commander Millington, MP, had been invited to expound the aims and methods of the World Government Movement.

WORLD GOVERNMENT

MR. MILLINGTON began by stating that the events of the last seven years had been driving him inexorably away from his military background towards the pacifist camp. He had found himself on the same side as pacifists in his opposition to conscription, capital punishment and the use of rubber truncheons by British police in Germany. He saw nothing strange now in his appearance at a pacifist meeting: for "war is more devastating to just these values we are trying to save than it is even to life and property."

He proceeded to outline the attempts which had been made in the past to banish war—the League of Nations and UNO. These attempts had not been wasted, he said, because we could profit by a study of their failures. One fundamental concept had stood between the goodwill of statesmen and world-peace, the concept of national sovereignty. It was this that had rendered futile all attempts to establish the reign of law over the nations.

Delegates were instructed to put the interests of their own peoples before those of the other peoples of the world. The example of Palestine showed glaringly how the legal decision of a world authority could be subverted by the egoism and greed of a sovereign Power.

It was with these considerations in mind that the authors of the Crusade for World Government had drawn up a list of the powers which would have to be granted to a world authority, if it was to be effective in ending war.

* A full report of these Sessions will appear in the PPU Journal.

The world authority, he said, would be a Parliament, having at its disposal:

1. A police-force to apprehend individuals who broke its laws, and a judiciary to try them. The precondition of the establishment of such a force would be the abandonment of all national armies.
2. An atomic development commission with two functions:
 - a To see that nobody manufactured atomic bombs;
 - b To promote atomic research in the service of mankind as a whole.
3. An effective world bank with two functions:
 - a To determine the relative exchange rates of national currencies, so as to prevent such confusions as resulted from the devaluation of the franc by the Government of France.
 - b To collect the revenue for the world government, take charge of it and direct its expenditure into such enterprises as the projected Danube Valley Development Authority.

The World Parliament would also have to draw up a Charter of Human Rights. Such a Charter was already being formulated, but it would be entirely ineffectual as long as sovereign governments were left to implement it—afraid, as they were, of doing anything to upset the social structures on which they reposed.

Finally, the World Parliament would adopt a world food policy, such as Sir John Boyd-Orr had striven in vain to promote. His efforts had been frustrated by the determination of the main food-producing countries to sell where they would at whatever price they could get.

The Crusade for World Government now had organisations in 32 countries. A Constituent Assembly was to meet at Geneva, perhaps, or New Delhi, in 1950; and it was intended that the Constitution there drawn up would be ratified by the Governments of all countries.

Mr. Millington hoped that if the members of the World Parliament were appointed directly by the people on the clear understanding that the establishment of the world authority meant the end of the British Navy and of all private national armies, this would be enough to dispel the suspicion of the Soviet Government that the Crusade was simply another encirclement-racket promoted by finance-capitalism.

He drew encouragement from an invitation he had himself received to lecture on the Crusade east of the Iron Curtain, in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

QUESTION-TIME

Questions followed.

How far was the police-force envisaged as an armed force?

Mr. Millington explained that this would have to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. There was a division of opinion among the sponsors of the Crusade. In his opinion, the police should bear only such arms as were necessary to protect them in the execution of their duty, of arresting individuals who contravened the international law.

What was his attitude towards the Hague Congress and Western Union?

Sovereignties might be merged merely for the achievement of greater military power. In so far as Western Union stood, like the Brussels Pact, for that, he was against it. It was no help to peace.

Supposing the Government of the USSR did not ratify the Constitution of the World Parliament, and Joe Stalin contravened world law, e.g., by promoting a revolution in one of the participating states—how would he be arrested?

If Russia did not come in, Mr. Millington pointed out, the authority would not be a world authority, and a whole new series of problems would arise: the problem, e.g., of a defence-force for the federated states. But he believed that Russia would be among the first thirty to come in; and if not, the economic, moral and spiritual attraction of the federated states would sooner or later become irresistible, if the door was kept open. Moreover, in his view, their economic strength would be such as to make any defence-force unnecessary.

DISCUSSION

THE meeting was then thrown open to discussion.

George Davies himself opened the debate by wondering what relationship World Government bore to that devolution which had been the aim of Liberals fifty years ago; and his

line of thought was pursued by George Plume and Roger Page.

Speaking as an anarchist, George Plume declared that smaller, not larger units was the need; less, and not more government. He would like to see Scotland independent. An independent Scotland would give the lead in disarmament and, if necessary, resist any aggressor by non-violent methods. Roger Page declared that World Government was the sort of short-cut to peace, by the accumulation of power, which could only lead to disaster. Power was the enemy, and Gandhi had taught us rather to seek love.

Similarly, Bryan Anstey asserted that World Community, not World Government, was our aim. There was no guarantee that it could be achieved this side of catastrophe; but still our job was to incite the conscience of people and thereby render government itself superfluous.

Allen Albon thought Mr. Millington, like so many politicians, was trying to build a pyramid by starting with the top stone. Unless our unbalanced industrial economy was remedied first, World Government was unthinkable; indeed, unless greater attention was paid to agriculture, it would become impossible even to feed the peoples of the world.

Another speaker advocated the extension of functional internationalism, on the ground that the world was not ready for federal union.

Harold Bing observed that functional internationalism, devolution and world government were not mutually exclusive aims, any more than arbitration, security and disarmament, the apparent discrepancy between which had bedevilled the League of Nations.

Stuart Morris appealed to the meeting not to let prejudice against the idea of an international police-force interfere with their valuation of the Crusade as outlined by Mr. Millington. If we rejected this policy, what had we to put in its place? Pacifists, he asserted, should co-operate in the Crusade, in order to see that the World Government was a pacifist government.

Frank Lea saw no reason whatever to believe that the federated states would be so economically strong as to require no defence-force against Russia, if she did not come in at once; still less that the economic, moral and spiritual attraction of a federation therefore armed to the teeth would prove irresistible. A federation minus Russia would be faced with the alternatives of an armaments-race, preventive war or unilateral disarmament: in other words, the same choice as we face already.

Audrey Jupp believed World Government in itself to be desirable—at any rate, infinitely more desirable than a continuance of national sovereignty; but she pointed out that if Russia remained outside the federation, it would be a great force for war, rather than a great force for peace, just as Mr. Millington had said that Western Union might be.

Replying to the discussion, Mr. Millington said that World Government was necessary to secure the conditions in which a balanced economy could be established and communities freely develop their own cultures. It was war which had put great productive areas out of cultivation, and war's first casualty was always freedom. It was national sovereignty that prevented functional internationalism from working. He himself was a successor to the Liberals of fifty years ago, inasmuch as he aimed at ending the imposition of the rule of one state upon another.

Summing up, George Davies expressed himself particularly interested in what Mr. Millington had said about the contribution which pacifists might make towards preventing our values from being lost in large-scale organisation. He drew attention to two recent pamphlets emphasising these values: Walter Zander's "Is This the Way?" and Victor Gollancz's "Reconciliation."

Strong exception was taken by Roy Walker and others, to the way in which this debate had been arranged, on the ground that time should have been provided for another speaker to state the case against World Government at the same length as Wing-Commander Millington; but it was generally felt that his exposition had

helped at least to clarify members' minds.

The following minute was endorsed by the AGM:

"The AGM heard with interest and appreciation the account of world government by Wing-Commander Millington. There was general agreement with the view of the world which he outlined, and with the points which he regarded as essential to world community. The meeting constantly had in mind the importance of the resolution passed at the 1947 AGM that the support or sanction of the use of armed force, whether controlled by an international or national authority for any purpose is not consistent with pacifism, which remained the considered judgment of the PPU. The meeting was not prepared at this stage to commit itself to any particular form of world government. It was, however, desirous that the National Council, groups and individuals should continue the discussion for the purpose of ascertaining how the pacifist movement can make its best contribution to seeing that any particular form of world government is pacifist."

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

SUNDAY afternoon saw the rather desultory discussion of a motion submitted by the North-East Area:

"This AGM of the PPU states categorically that pacifism involves support for unilateral disarmament in Britain now."

This was proposed by Alfred Sharp, and seconded by Raymond Wild, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. An amendment:

"to delete the words after 'disarmament' and substitute 'and welcomes the service-cuts already made,'"

proposed by Claude Liddel of the Midlands, was defeated, and the motion carried by a large majority.

In the course of the discussion, Stanley Elliston of Ilford, said that the policy of unilateral disarmament should not be advanced as a peace-policy; it could only be justified on the grounds that it was good in itself, and only good means produced good ends.

Sydney Conbeer took the view that it could be justified as a peace-policy, since it might do much to allay the fears of Russia and U.S. hysteria.

Frank Lea approved of unilateral disarmament as a peace-policy, but regretted that it should be advanced in the name of the PPU, since pacifism did not necessarily imply approval of it, and approval of it certainly did not imply pacifism. He thought it should be canvassed by a mixed non-pacifist and pacifist body, while the PPU devoted itself to multiplying its signatories, regardless of immediate consequences.

Audrey Jupp pointed out that pacifism involved meeting aggression with an alternative force to that of arms, and that unilateral disarmament should not be confused with defeatism; nor should pacifists canvassing it welcome the alliance of those whose motives were quite different and very questionable.

Speaking apropos the amendment proposed, both Sydney Conbeer and Bert Taverner stressed the fact that the recent service-cuts were due solely to economic necessity, and were nothing for pacifists to cheer. A nation was either armed or disarmed, and ours was armed.

POSTSCRIPT

SOON after George Davies' concluding speech, the AGM dispersed. Not, however, before tributes had been paid by Sybil Morrison to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Dennis Davis, and by Dennis Davis to the year-in year-out work of those many rank-and-file members of the Union who, in face of every obstacle, continued to spread the pacifist message and hold the PPU together.

For many of those present the AGM had come as the climax to a very encouraging week. For the first time since the war pacifists, in London at any rate, had been finding large and interested audiences at their meetings, both indoors and out. On Saturday The Economist had even warned its American readers that people this side of the Atlantic were "irresolute and vulnerable to defeatist, even pacifist arguments!"

But if the AGM was a climax, it was also a starting-point for fresh efforts. The enthusiasm of PPU members was displayed that very Sunday evening, when some eighteen members, from Aberdeen and Taunton, Mid-Wales, Aldershot, London and Shrewsbury, aged from seventeen to seventy, joined in selling Peace News outside the Albert Hall. "Christian Action in Western Europe" was being urged by Lord Halifax and Sir Stafford Cripps, and pacifist action in Western London resulted straightway in a sale of 200 copies.

Now is the time for an all-out effort by the Peace Pledge Union throughout Great Britain, and for the War Resisters' International throughout the world.

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THE ATOMIC CHALLENGE

There can never be another "Just War"

— RITCHIE CALDER

Dr. Alex Wood, Ritchie Calder and Vera Brittain gripped the attention of a large meeting in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, last Friday night, when they discussed the Atomic Challenge from the technical, political and moral standpoints.

INTRODUCED by the Chairman, Clifford Evans, as a physicist who had trained many of the British atomic scientists, Alex Wood dwelt upon the terrible responsibility that rested with every member of the community which had invented and employed the atomic bomb.

A quite peculiar responsibility, however, belonged to those scientists who had deliberately signed on for the manufacture of the bomb. In his opinion, they were just as responsible for the outrage on Hiroshima as if they had dropped it with their own hands. And yet there were men among them who would have shrunk from doing the actual job. This was one example of the way in which modern science had concealed from men the implications of their own behaviour.

END OF CHIVALRY

Warfare in the atomic age was not merely far more destructive and far more indiscriminate than it had ever been before. It weakened the sense of personal responsibility, and had no place in it for those qualities which, in the past, had done something to enoble the soldier's profession. "The Battle of Britain," he said, "marked the end of chivalry in warfare. A rocket can now be released from a place of safety by one without gifts of head, heart or skill, and ignorant of the effects of his action."

And what are the effects? Experiments carried out on creatures that breed more rapidly than man had proved that the atomic bomb which killed 100,000 people directly would at the same time so affect the germ-plasm of the survivors that deaths would result in succeeding generations for thousands of years: the atomic bomb "plants hundreds of thousands of minute time-bombs in the germ-plasm of men and women." A weapon against which there was no defence; which put out of operation all the palliatives, hospitals, doctors, etc., looked to in ordinary air-raids; and which, above all, found its primary target in children and future generations, could only be said to have accomplished a change of scale that amounted to a change in the very nature of war.

CHURCH AND THE ATOM

At this point, Ritchie Calder referred to the newly-published Report of the Archbishops' Commission, "The Church and the Atom," in which the use of this weapon is sanctioned. The one thing the Report had shown him clearly, he said, was that a "just war," in the sense understood by the Church, was utterly inconceivable today. He could find no political or strategic justification for the use of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

TO-MORROW'S HYDE PARK POSTER PARADE

Will you be there?

Another Hyde Park Peace Demonstration will take place on May Day, Saturday, May 1. A poster parade will leave Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, for Marble Arch at 5.30 p.m.

Speakers in Hyde Park at 6.30 p.m. will be

SYBIL MORRISON
BRYAN ANSTEY
GWYNETH ANDERSON

Those wishing to take part in the Poster Parade or to accompany it selling Peace News should telephone Gwyneth Anderson, London Area Organiser (EUS 5501) or meet her at Dick Sheppard House before the commencement of the parade.

ditional surrender" was not declared. "The bombing of Hiroshima was the greatest war-crime ever perpetrated in history."

Not only were the Japanese not forewarned; but neither were the Russians themselves. By keeping the secret from them, the American and British Governments had estranged the Soviet Government from the start, with fateful consequences.

Ritchie Calder stressed the fact that for Britain henceforth "war is completely illogical, completely unreal and completely impossible." In the event of hostilities between Russia and America, whichever side we were on, whether occupied or unoccupied, we should be annihilated. We had nothing whatever to lose by declaring, like France, that we would have nothing to do with the manufacture of atomic bombs; we had every-



Dr. ALEX WOOD

who spoke with Ritchie Calder and Vera Brittain at Caxton Hall, is Chairman of Peace News, Ltd., and was Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union from 1940-1946.

thing to gain, since we might thereby help to allay the war-hysteria which was mounting all over the world.

He indicted our so-called "great statesmen" who, instead of taking any step to break the deadlock, talked in the manner of Sir John Anderson, about ARP. Such talk was "damnable."

Vera Brittain traced our present perilous situation to three root-causes.

First was the concentration on physical science at the expense of mental science for the past century-and-a-half, which had brought us to a position in which human inventiveness had outstripped human moral control.

WHY NOT 1942?

Second was the failure of Christian leadership, exemplified in the Church Commission's Report.

Drawing attention to the Commission's belated condemnation of obliteration-bombing and unconditional surrender, she pointed out what a help it would have been to Corder Cathcpool and the other sponsors of the Bombing Restriction Committee of 1940-2, when they were faced with the vilification of the whole U.S. press and the silence of all but a few authorities in this country, if the clergy had come out then in their support. The campaign had been left to the Bishop of Chichester, R. H. Stokes and a handful of pacifists.

Some churchmen, she said, found the cause of our troubles in Communism. She believed that Communism merely stepped into the spiritual vacuum left by their own default.

But it was not enough to condemn the leaders of public opinion. A people got the leaders it deserved. If the "Christian" ideal meant anything, it meant that we should look first for the faults in ourselves and seek to remedy them.

Winding up the speeches, Stuart Morris, who had replaced Clifford Evans in the Chair, pointed out that there was one act of personal responsibility we could all perform: we could renounce the method of war. He invited the audience to apply for further information to the Friends' Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation or the Peace Pledge Union, under whose joint auspices the meeting had been arranged.

DR. BELDEN WARNS HYDE PARK MEETING

Time is Short

WITHIN a few minutes of the arrival of the half-mile-long poster parade in Hyde Park last week, a crowd numbering over a thousand gathered to listen to the speakers from the platform of the Peace Pledge Union.

The poster parade from Paddington Station was undertaken by members of the Peace Pledge Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Friends Peace Committee. From the start — when it was greeted with a bus-driver's shout of "Up the Peace Pledge Union" — the procession aroused great interest.

Sybil Morrison, the first speaker in the Park, held the crowd as she outlined the pacifist viewpoint on the present political situation and emphasised the need for, and the value of, a small enlightened pressure group to bring about necessary reforms. She reminded the audience that in 1940 she had been imprisoned for upholding the teachings of Gandhi on the very spot where she was now speaking — today, however, people were beginning to realise the wisdom of the Mahatma's refusal to sanction violence.

Eric Tucker, of the Friends Peace Committee, was the next speaker. He urged the renunciation of the use of the atomic bomb by Britain. He saw this as the only means of undoing the harm caused to Anglo-Russian relations by Governmental blunders dating from the time of the Archangel expedition in 1919 to the untimely introduction of the Military



DR. A. D. BELDEN speaking at London's largest open-air peace rally since 1945.

Conscription Bill which was to become operative in 1949. He suggested that Britain should invite inspection of all her atomic plant to prove that it was used only for industrial purposes.

Dr. Belden, who mounted the stand to put forward the views of a pacifist member of the Church, was constantly heckled until he made it clear that his clerical collar did not imply support of the Church of England's advocacy of the use of the atomic bomb.

He warned the crowd that there was little time in which to organise opposition to the use of the atomic bomb. He called for a nation-wide revolt of the people of Britain against their Parliamentary and religious leaders.

He declared that the common people, both inside and outside the churches were far in advance of the leaders of organised religion in their desire to abolish war. "We want a vast human revolt against this atrocity. Let every man and woman say 'No' to atomic war!"

WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

GERMANY

TWO Germans are among the candidates for the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize: The writer, Otto Lehmann-Russbeldt, founder of the German League for the Rights of Man, and Baron Paul von Schoenbach, former German Army General and President of the German Peace Society.

Both worked together in the first-named organisation for many years; striving to reach an understanding with Germany's neighbours and fighting against militarism, nationalism and secret German re-armament.

The candidature of Rosika Schwimmer, the advocate of World Government, was announced in Peace News on November 21, 1947. Now living in the USA, she has been nominated by members of the Parliaments of Great Britain, Sweden, France, Italy and Hungary.

HONOLULU

The Honolulu FoR recently succeeded in getting an airing for the subject of conscription on the weekly radio forum of the Republican Club there. The FoR secured two anti-conscription speakers for the programme.

The interest aroused was so great, and the volume of questions telephoned in so large that the discussion, originally scheduled to last an hour, was extended for fifteen minutes beyond that, and was renewed for another hour-and-a-quarter programme the next week.

MEXICO

The arrival in Mexico of Senora Jose Brocca marks the end of a further chapter in the history of the family of the Spanish war-resister Prof. Jose Brocca.

Prof. Brocca, the Spanish Council

Member of the WRI, was living in France at the time of the German invasion. Just before the final occupation the WRI were able to get him away to Mexico. He arrived in that country in October, 1942, with only what he stood up in and 17 French francs. He was alone.

His wife and children, at first interned in a concentration camp and later released, lived in France until the end of the war when they went into Spain. As living conditions were very bad there the younger children came to England to await a family reunion in Mexico.

Sr. and Sra. Brocca have sent a message of greeting and gratitude to members of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation who raised the money required to bring Senora Brocca to Mexico.

STUDENT OF THE PRINCE

The Time is Out of Joint: a Study of Hamlet, by Roy Walker. Dakers, 6s.

MR. WALKER'S theme is the now familiar one that in *Hamlet* is manifest the tension between reality and appearance, between honesty and corruption, forgiveness and revenge. He is indefatigable in dragging into the limelight of exegesis every facet of human character, every irony of circumstance, every metaphysical implication, which Shakespeare may or may not have had in mind as he hurriedly dramatised for immediate production the bare bones of Saxo's *Amleth*.

The reflection that Shakespeare wrote at speed from a given text is salutary. It corrects the tendency to regard the plays as scripture and Shakespeare as God. Mr. Walker doesn't escape this tendency. He works like a mole under the pattern of Shakespeare's imagery, and he obviously does not realise—any more than the legion of Shakespeare critics before him realised—that it is better to leave Shakespeare incoherent in part. A poetic drama, or any work of art, is an organic growth and refuses to be nailed down. On his penultimate page Mr. Walker says that "the ultimate answer is that Hamlet did not delay." But one suspects that dozens of publishers at this moment are using up precious paper quotas on the "ultimate answers" of other interpreters.

One is grateful to Mr. Walker for the ingenuity of his book, but at the same time one regrets that so little has been left to our imagination. Mr. Walker assiduously and relentlessly dots the i's and crosses the t's of our intuitive understanding and thereby leaves us bereft of the faculty of wonderment and without any occasion for further enjoyment of the mystery of the play. Or rather, he would do this to us if we allowed ourselves to accept his book absolutely. Few of us will go so far: the most trusting reader is likely to be put off by such chunks of naive transcription as this:

He is pondering whether it is nobler to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, to be the agonised spectator of a process of decay of which he alone is fully conscious and in which he thereby becomes deeply involved, or to take arms against a sea of troubles by opposing end them.

Mr. Walker says in his introduction that he finds his own conclusions "astonishing" and "startling." But a Hamlet who did not primarily conceive his duty to be the murder of his uncle—whose "waiting" was the "struggle to attain the divine spontaneity in which humanity is transfigured into the image of a divinity that shapes our ends"—will seem to most of us natural, even axiomatic.

J. P. HOGAN.

BARRIERS TO SANITY

Inside the Asylum, by John Vincent, with an introduction by Vera Brittain. Allen & Unwin, 6s.

A BETTER title for this book might have been "Outside the Asylum." Only one chapter—and that the least interesting—is devoted to the author's experience as a patient in a mental home. The remaining five consist of a straightforward, frank and very ably-written narrative of the events, from earliest childhood, which led up to his mental breakdown—and also of the extraordinary difficulties he encountered in securing any adequate treatment.

It is not an encouraging story. Not only does it reveal how appallingly ignorant (especially if it be refined) and an unsympathetic upbringing may warp a boy's whole after-life, precluding him from even those simple fulfilments which normal people accept as their due; but it reveals also how generally incompetent to deal with such cases are the very people whose duty it is to safeguard the physical and mental health of the community—teachers, parsons, doctors, and not least asylums attendants.

Mr. Vincent has no such ugly conditions to expose as were found in American asylums, by C.O.s who worked in them during the war: he is, on the contrary, profoundly grateful for the treatment he ultimately received. But he makes very clear the need for better material facilities and better supervision: such as will, of



THROUGH A CHURCH WINDOW

DICK SHEPPARD: *Man of Peace*, by C. H. S. Matthews. (Jas. Clarke, 4s. 6d.)

THIS is not a very satisfactory little book. In his preface Canon Matthews warns the reader that it was written piecemeal and in difficult circumstances, but this candour does not necessarily excuse a book which is in effect so scrappy that its subject cannot emerge from its pages as what he extraordinarily was: a man who lived more abundantly than the rest of us.

Perhaps a not unfair comment upon the book is made by the fact that the one headed "Dick as I knew him" is by some nine pages the longest of its seven short chapters. This chapter tells us rather more about its author than it does about its subject. The others do not fall into this error, yet they still manage to say little more about Sheppard than that he was "elusive."

The book lacks what so short a work most needs, a plan, a structure, which will give Dick Sheppard a chance to reveal himself; and a somewhat graceless prose and a profusion of long quotations do not increase the chance. This is, perhaps understandably, a book primarily for church people. Dick Sheppard would not have wished to have it said of him that he was greater than his church—at least greater than that church "here in earth"—but the fact remains that it was men and women outside the church who, often in spite of others within it, recognised in him a servant of his Master. It is not perhaps helpful to write of him in those "church" terms now so familiar—and so ineffectual.

But the book is both psychologically and theologically honest; honest than Mr. Ellis Roberts's more pretentious work. And it is refreshing to find that Canon Matthews does not allow his disagreement with Dick Sheppard's pacifism to interfere with his sympathy for it: of this aspect of Dick's life he writes with a scrupulous fairness which, like his sincerity and affection, is never elsewhere in doubt.

The fact is that a good book about Dick Sheppard has yet to be written. After so many writings by men and women who were personal acquaintances of his, we need something from a person who never saw him or spoke to him, but still feels imaginatively

course, only be forthcoming when larger sums are available for the care of the mentally sick. By arousing the public to this need, his book should do one useful service.

It should do even more, however, to arouse that imaginative understanding that would make the asylum, for many a case, an unnecessary last resort. Nothing emerges more clearly from this narrative than the way in which the author's own sufferings were aggravated by the incomprehension, or positive hostility, of neighbours towards someone unlike themselves. And it is a sad reflection on the timidity of the conventional that even after his discharge, the mere knowledge that he had been in an asylum should have been a cause of estrangement and dismissal.

The fact that Mr. Vincent was a C.O. throughout the war, of course, laid him particularly open to those petty discriminations, sometimes harder to bear than downright persecution. At the same time it speaks for a courage to which this book itself bears witness. For, despite its virility and occasional humour, *Inside the Asylum* is painful to read; it must have been far more painful to write; and its accomplishment clearly reflects a triumph of spirit over flesh (in the true, the Pauline, sense) which, far from being normal, is healthy, antiseptic and rare.

F.A.L.

moved to study him fully from all the available material, and to write of him objectively. Sheppard was a great man; and those who strongly deny this but affirm it. He deserves a biographer capable of interpreting him and his legend to the future. No book so far written about him is in any real sense worthy of him, since none is the work of a writer of sufficient vision to see him clearly and see him whole, and set him clearly and wholly before us. He has still to inherit the future—like the rest of the saints.

R. H. WARD.

Boehme's Disciple

Selected Mystical Writings of William Law, edited by Stephen Hobhouse. Rockliff, 25s.

THIS volume, which is substantially a reprint of the edition published by C. W. Daniel in 1938, contains some 228 pages of selections from Law's voluminous writings, together with nearly 200 pages of notes and studies by the editor.

The book contains much valuable material, and repays reading. I hope it will not seem ungrateful, therefore, if nevertheless I record my distinct feeling that what we have here is but a sketch for the even more valuable book which Mr. Hobhouse might have given us if, instead of placing selections and commentaries apart, he had integrated them into a general study (with copious quotations, of course) of Law's teachings.

Law was an interesting and truly enlightened mind, but he was not a great original thinker; much of his writing took the form of controversy, and his expression was shaped by contemporary intellectual currents which have been dissipated in the stream of time, and by pre-suppositions with regard to his reader's background which can no longer be said to obtain.

Law leaned heavily upon his master, Jacob Boehme, from whose mighty theosophical insight he selected two or three strands, weaving them into the devotional-theological pattern of his own more urbane mind. While, however, his teachings on the particular points which he presses convince one of their essential sanity, his range is not wide and he tends often to write in a somewhat general manner, as if at a distance from concrete experience, with its particular dilemmas, stresses and strains. He can be pointed, nevertheless:

But you will say, Do not all Christians desire to have Christ to be their Saviour? Yes. But here is the deceit: all would have Christ to be their Saviour in the next world and to help them into Heaven when they die by His power and merits with God. But this is not willing Christ to be thy Saviour; for His salvation, if it is had, must be had in this world; if He saves thee it must be done in this life, by changing and altering all that is within thee, by helping thee to a new heart, as He helped the blind to see, the lame to walk, and the dumb to speak. For to have salvation from Christ is nothing else but to be made like Him.

And here he speaks with the very accent of conviction:

dark, fiery wrath in the soul is not only very like, but it is the very self-same thing in the soul which a wrathful poison is in the flesh. Now, the qualities of poison are in themselves all of them good qualities and necessary to every life; but they are become a poisonous evil, because they are separated from some other qualities. Thus also the qualities of fire and strength that constitute an evil wrath in the soul, are in themselves very good qualities and necessary to every good life; but they are become an evil wrath because separated from some other qualities with which they should be united.

It is for passages such as these that one should buy and read this book.

D. S. SAVAGE.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Whitechapel to Whitehall

Voluntary Social Services since 1918, by Henry A. Mess, in collaboration with Constance Braithwaite, Violet Creech-Jones, Hilda Jennings, Perl Jephcott, Harold King, Nora Milnes, John Morgan, Gertrude Williams and W. E. Williams. Edited by Gertrude Williams. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 21s.

SOCIAL work in the past has been identified with the relief of distress, especially economic distress and one of the outstanding developments of the twenty years reviewed by "Voluntary Social Services since 1918" has been the shift in emphasis from "charity" and the pathologies "case" to a wider and truer view of the individual and of social welfare. The authors draw attention to the increasing stress laid on preventative and constructive services as distinguished from mere ambulance work, and point out that social service has come to deal with classes other than the poor and needy and with the normal rather than the abnormal.

Closely linked with these developments have been various organisational changes leading to an increasing democratisation. Finance tends to be raised from the many rather than the few; a greater proportion comes by way of services rendered and voluntary organisations look more and more to the statutory authorities for their support. Consumers' co-operation in the provision of facilities plays a growing part and a mixture of philanthropy and mutual aid is characteristic of present day voluntary services.

Greater co-operation between the various organisations and between statutory and voluntary bodies has been the establishment regional and national co-ordinating agencies, an attempt being made to combine local autonomy with wide efficiency.

The unpaid volunteers, who gave the voluntary organisations their name, have now been largely replaced by trained and salaried professional workers, and "being good with people" is no longer regarded as a sufficient substitute for knowledge and understanding.

Many of these developments have been stimulated by the growth of a vast network of statutory social services. This expansion, however, poses the question: "Are the voluntary social services still necessary and if so how should they relate to the statutory services?"

From the essays contained in the book the conclusion seems to emerge that, while at the present time at least there are some things which should be wholly or partly left to the voluntary body, the most important function of the voluntary organisation is the pioneering of services to meet new needs. The voluntary organisation remains vital to the health of a democratic society. It involves, on the one hand, that the State support voluntary effort becomes willing to pay the piper without calling the tune—and, on the other, that individuals should feel a real sense of personal responsibility for their fellow-men.

The voluntary organisation, originating in "a concern," embodies the workings of the more sensitive type of social conscience and acts as a growing point of social initiative. The State takes over various services it leaves the voluntary organisation free to undertake new tasks previously ignored because of the pressure of more immediate problems. Voluntary social service fosters and bears witness to a belief in the fundamental unity of men without which the community disintegrates.

An introductory study rather than a comprehensive survey, "Voluntary Social Services since 1918" is a useful contribution to a relatively undocumented field.

DAVID JONES

Two searching and significant books on imminent questions of peace and war: "Now is the Time to Prevent a Third World War," by Dr. Kirby Page, and "Reconciliation" by Victor Gollancz are the subject of this article by

CHALLENGE

AND RECONCILIATION

IT is twenty-five years since I read a remarkable pamphlet by Kirby Page entitled "War, its Causes, Consequences and Cure" and was impressed by its marshalling of facts and figures and arguments. His later book, published at \$1 is a still more inclusive and indeed encyclopaedic book in its references.

An eminent American reviewer calls it "clear, factual, fair and unprejudiced, yet incisive and unsparing in its probing of recent history." Dr. Page's knowledge and analysis of recent Russian history and policy is also important for American and British readers.

UNO's impotence

Finally he comes clearly to the impotence of the UN Security Council, of which one member may veto action, and to the crisis and choice of faith either in atomic massacre or in the faithfulness of God if men will trust His ways as seen in Christ.

The urgency of that situation demands that the Churches disentangle themselves from the war system with all possible thoroughness and speed. I do not mean by this any cheap-and-easy pledge-signing. Through all these years I have never believed in pledge-signing. I do believe, however, that every Christian is called upon to make a solemn choice between the way of Jesus and the way of war. We must love God and do right, we must do right and trust God, run the risks, take the consequences and leave the outcome in the hands of God."

Dr. Page's out-and-out pacifism does not prevent his realist and ruthless survey of recent Russian methods and policy through its purges and liquidations in the inner and outer courts of its Communism, of Generals, Commissars, and of all but one member of the Central Politburo. But all this, Dr. Page sees to be the logic of trying to reach ideals by hate and violence; and the nemesis of violence is not altered by its being applied on a wider or world scale.

The choice of faith today is truly a desperate one, particularly for pacifists who have fairly faced the difficulty in microcosm—in a family row, a village feud, an industrial dispute, a sectarian squabble, an ideological difference or a temperamental dislike. Yet these are the meeting grounds of Peace and War.

* * *

IT is to such fundamental matters of spirit and attitude that Mr. Gollancz, the Left-Wing Socialist and Jew, comes down in addressing a meeting on Christian Action at Oxford. Mr. Gollancz's magnanimity of mind and conduct,

particularly towards the race that has exterminated so many millions of Jews is one of the "signs of our times."

Even Mr. Gandhi has not gone as far as Mr. Gollancz in his call for repentance and compassion and positive reconciliation, here and now, with those who are our enemies.

"What is of primary importance is the right relationship here and now in this temporal world of men and women to one another. Day by day and hour by hour I see it carelessly neglected or even passionately opposed."

Systems are important only in terms of the human relationships they embody; this involves a displacement of social, political and economic systems to a position of only relative importance.

"Anyone who looks back over his life and reflects about his innumerable human contacts—with his wife, his family, his children, his friends, his enemies, his servants, his masters—cannot fail to remember that, when he has wished well after wishing ill, a change has taken place in him which he has immediately recognised as a change from something less real to something more real... In moments such as these we experience the love of God and life everlasting."

"If you judge a man to have wronged you, you cannot wish him well unless you forgive him; forgiveness must be unconditional forgiveness and the human reconciliation for which we work must be unconditional reconciliation."

"It is precisely the hater who is most in need of our love and if we can love him unconditionally, if we can really love him in spirit and truth, the hatred will go and love take its place... and those whom circumstances have brought us into a particularly close relation as a matter of unusual opportunity on our side and of unusual necessity on theirs are most in need of our well-wishing. And that brings me to Germany."

A passionate appeal

Then follows a passionate appeal for re-humanising our thoughts and re-personalising our imaginations from the ghastly abstractions that we have made of countries, classes and creeds, and our beginning to think in terms of human persons with all their fallibilities and possibilities.

Victor Gollancz's second address and appeal is to German prisoners that they too should try to understand us and forgive. There is a certain sanity and finality in Victor Gollancz's thinking which we pacifists often miss. Is it that we have nurtured our negations into a vocation? We are anti-conscription, non-violent, war-resisting and all the rest of the spiky virtues; but isn't it time for the cactus plant to bloom into the flower and fragrance of Peace, for the flower is what the cactus spikes were meant by Nature to protect. Extra help with competent verbatim reporting in English is urgently needed. If anyone can offer such assistance, will they please communicate with the Secretariat of the War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

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LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Buxton Rd., London.

"VOYAGE TO Berbera" (Sheppard Press, 9s. 6d.). Supplies available at Housman's Bookshop, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1.

HELP US to circulate attractive 16-page booklet, "Here is the news" (Circulation 110,000). Specimen copy, addressed envelope. Davies, 40 Victoria St. Chambers, Morecambe, Lancs.

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PERSONAL

PEACE WORKERS needed for Peace News office. Voluntary help urgently required with work that anyone could tackle. Day time and some evenings. Odd hours as acceptable as whole days. Please write the Manager, Peace News, 8 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. S.V.

CRICKET AGAIN!

by



Frank Dawtry

who now sees some result from his work as Secretary of the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, turns his pen once again to cricket and its lesson for pacifists. His last Peace News article on this theme was written in August, 1945. The years between have seen a continuation of his keen support of the Peace Pledge Union as a member of its National Council.

least unpleasing side of this business being the amateur of sport who collects for his writing about it far more than the professional who plays it.

So... the Australians are here, and test matches will soon be starting, and whoever wins or loses, urchins will still play on waste patches with an enthusiasm which would illuminate the Oval, and sweet sounds and sights will come in our long summer evenings and at the week-ends from the meadows and the parks. Cricket matters — test matches do not. So when we pacifists, amongst whom there is a large proportion of cricket lovers, come to discuss the great games of the season, let us bring truth and calmness to the matter. Let us not get too worked up about Edrich's average, Compton's knee-cap, Hutton's damaged arm, Lindwall's no-balls (already pre-announced by the press), Bradman's mercury or Miller's charm.

Pacifism can have its expression and effect in any sphere of life; this one is no exception. A contribution by us, of moderation and temperance in our talk and in the place we give to the game will be a necessary contribution to the maintenance of essential values and to the balance of life in this disordered and unstable world. Cricket is with us again; cannot we just be content to enjoy it?

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INDIA: FRIENDS Service Unit requ. younger pacifists for relief and reconciliation work in Indian and Pakistan. Medical, welfare or practical skills desirable. Two years minimum service. Apply Gen. Secy., Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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MISCELLANEOUS

HOLIDAY SCHOOLS. Lund University (Sweden) and Strasbourg University International Centre on Yorkshire Moors; send stamp for 1948 programme, I.T.T., 6 Bainbridge Rd., Leeds 6, Yorks.

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GOLDEN LINK Circle. Free membership to those who are sick or distressed. Full particulars, post free, from: Institute of Life Science, 18 (PNSC), Manchester St., London, N.W.1.

No quarter for mistrust

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

other factors and forces that act as salutary checks, and even the Vatican learns worldly as well as spiritual wisdom. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and we can receive inspiration from the perpetual protestantism of the invisible Spirit that penetrates theological or ecclesiastical barriers. This may save Italy from succumbing to dual authoritarian pressure and give vitality to its democratic adolescence.

The mass

THIS is a hope for which there may be scanty supporting evidence. The prospect of the human mind enjoying the dignity of freedom is savagely circumscribed not only by ancient and modern authoritarianism, but also by the menace of dollar domination. American aid is necessary to save Italy and other nations from collapsing into a ditch where a Good Samaritan from Moscow may be prepared to offer his services. America has now to demonstrate that it has not simply forestalled its philanthropic rival by blackmailing the victims, but that it genuinely desires to assist in economic rehabilitation. It is not surprising that this anticipation should meet with scornful cynicism, and the allegation of harsh ulterior motives behind the succour. Wall Street, we are told, means business, and the bargain it drives will turn out to be mercilessly calculating.

Such a possibility exists, but so do other possibilities, and to exclude all but one is to subscribe to the fatal doctrine that man is dominated by mercenary considerations. There is much to support this thesis, and its advocates select their evidence from abundant material, but the conclusions are in fact diabolical and cause human faith to rot away.

Starting with the assumption that humankind has been and is driven by need, greed and the lust for power and exploitation, existing and past class divisions and mass wretchedness are interpreted as social registrations of these motives, before which moral values are either irrelevant or impotent. From this one passes with fierce logic to the conviction that all acts and policies of "capitalistic" nations can only possess the hidden but cunning intention of securing economic advantage and acquiring more ruthless domination.

—and the community

WHAT, however, is ignored is that nations are communities of human beings and that the finer capacities within individual lives must also be somewhere within nations. All

though national behaviour cannot be equated with that of its finest members, it is equally true it should not be equated with its worst, and therefore that a nation embodies a wide range of motives from the lowest to the highest.

Where there is repression and tyranny it is possible to sterilise with fear the operation of higher motives, although there may also be disciplinary stimulation of certain better qualities. Where there is political liberty it is impossible to prevent higher motives from having influence upon national policy, and it is our obligation to encourage these instead of blighting them by a corrosive disbelief and undiscriminating suspicion.

American aid can be largely what we make it. To translate the European recovery plan simply as an artful dodge to enslave Europeans flatters potential American enslavers and artful dorgers and confounds potential American liberators and decent people. The baser elements in American human life are thus strengthened and the better elements weakened. Conversely, to accept Americans as not necessarily knaves and ourselves as not necessarily fools, but to exert thought and energy to translate American deeds in terms of ultimate mutual aid and immediate international necessity, resisting that which is perilous but encouraging that which is good, can be the means of advancing human enlightenment and fraternity.

The only alternative to this is the breeding of ill-will and bad faith without limit until the evil progeny inhabit every corner of our souls.

Citadel or sanctuary

WESTERN Union is open to the same diverse construction. It can become simply a deceptively vulnerable military citadel for the Last World War; and possibly it was intuitive apprehensions of this that led the Labour Party to discourage attendance of its members at the Hague Conference sponsored by romantic Mr. Churchill.

Even so, if the Labour Party is anxious to inspire a worthy edifice of European peace and co-operation it should get on with the job in its own way, and dispense with military architects in the knowledge that modern Magihoth lines are simply futile provocative encumbrances.

It is a platitude to state that Europe politically and economically must find speedy release from present tensions and misery or it will collapse. If the Communist diagnosis and cure is rejected as superficial and intolerable then responsibility rests on democrats and socialists to vindicate faith in human reason and goodwill. This involves acceptance of political differences as a stimulus rather than an obstruction, and for the socialist a firm conviction in the effective diffusion of his principles. It also involves recognition that human beings remain humanly capable of response despite their national or class designations.

Enmities, self-interest, fear and greed are terribly persistent in human life, but the capacity for worthier action is in everyone. It is easy to scoff at these finer possibilities and yet it is precisely a quenchless faith in these that is the supreme need of humanity, without which in the end there is psychological paralysis. Only sustained effort to induce all human souls earnestly to co-operate and devote their privileges to the common good can overcome the intensification of dehumanising forces.

Nenni? Nenni? No

THE tragic significance of those earnest MPs who despatched the Nenni telegram lies in its implication that they now believe the Italian peoples must find salvation through affinity with political forces that belittle individual moral capacity. Yet paradoxically they sought an effective unity, and failed to appreciate the necessary moral condition of its achievement.

So, too, with the May Day celebration. But what a pity it is that the positive alternative is so inadequate. What democratic socialism needs at such a time is a glowing re-affirmation of the sense of international community and of supreme human values that alone liberate the power within man to become socialist in spirit and in truth. Peace, fraternity, and reconciliation should be radiant on May Day, and thus challenge the evil depression of our darkness.

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— NORMAN THOMAS.
The Socialist Call (USA).

FEATURE LETTER

Stepney PSU Appeals for Help

FOLLOWING the publicity given to a small part of the work of the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit in "The Strange Case of Miss X" (PN, April 9) readers may have noticed in following issue an advertisement for a new full-time working member appeared. The Unit's management committee feel that more should be known of what lies behind this advertisement.

For several months the Unit has been struggling to carry on with little or no cash reserve. Last month a full-time worker left and has been replaced. Now one of its more experienced members has to leave because of the financial insecurity. Those who remain will continue with increasing care loads the difficult and onerous work, not knowing from week to week whether income will meet expenditure. It would help the remaining members financially if new workers were taken on, but would mean a big reduction in effectiveness of the work because it would have to spend a greater portion of time on routine tasks.

The workers and the committee agreed that at least one new member should be enrolled as soon as possible, since to cut down the personnel below four would so reduce the value of the work the committee would seriously have to consider whether it was worth while carrying on.

Sponsors and subscribers who support the Unit have done wonders but we cannot ask them for more—there are few compared with the number of active pacifists.

The Stepney PSU is the last of Units carrying on full-time as a specifically pacifist venture. It would be a tragedy if at this stage—when its work is receiving increased recognition from responsible bodies and when the pacifist movement so badly needs an example of what pacifism applied to problems of social life means—the management committee have to consider closure of the Unit.

If another 250 people would be £1 a year (less than 5d. a week) immediate financial troubles would be over. If 500 people offered regular donation of £2 a year the committee could go ahead with plans for expanding the work among problem families, difficult and delinquent youngsters.

ARTHUR COLLINS
Stepney Pacifist Service Unit.
6/355 The Highway, Stepney, E.1.

Iford and District PPU members' friends will learn, with deep sorrow, of the sudden death of "Bill" Watkin, Hon. of Iford Group, on April 7.

He was a true friend to all who knew and will be remembered for the tremendous help he gave in the Iford "Help Home" campaign, and with hospitality for German PoWs at Barclay Hall, Upton Park.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS — HELP US TO ABOLISH

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